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THE

SIDDHANTA DEEPIKA

OR

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THE TODAS: THEIR ORIGIN AND AFFINITIES. V.

(*Continued from page 219 of Volume VIII.*)

The mands that are generally situated in such well-selected picturesque spots usually comprise five (5) buildings or huts, three of which are used as dwellings, one as a dairy or temple and the other for sheltering the calves at night. Besides there is also a *tuel* or a circular enclosure built of stones within which the buffaloes are kept at night. This enclosure is generally surrounded by a low wall of loose stones and is provided with an entrance guarded by powerful wooden stakes, so that the cattle may not stray away. The calf-house is a small thatched shed without any mark of stability and intended only to afford a temporary shelter from wind and weather to the young ones until they become strong enough to join their parents in the common *tuel*. Excepting these, the dwelling huts and the dairy are generally more solidly built, and their plan of construction is quite uniform throughout the Nilgiris, wherever the Todas have settled. With the solitary exception of the house of a Toda headman pointed out to the writer in what is called the Governor Shola, to the west of Ootacamund,—a *house* which bears all the marks of the higher civilisation of the advanced town-folk, superimposed upon the primitive notions of an ancient hill-tribe—with brickwalls, windows, doorways, frames and all, in right modern fashion, together with dimunitive dimensions and dark chambers, all the huts of the Todas are of one pattern throughout

and are constructed of the same materials. In general appearance these dwelling huts resemble small hay-stakes in groups of three or four. An excellent miniature is kept in the Ethnological Section of the Madras Museum, and those who cannot see the original can form a no less accurate idea of a Toda hut from this specimen. Shortt, in his *Tribes on the Neilgheeries,* which is perhaps the earliest and the most accurate account of the Toda people, writes:—"These huts are dwellings forming a peculiar kind of oval pent-shaped construction, usually 10 feet high, 18 feet long, and 9 feet broad. The entrance or doorway into this building measures 32 inches in height and 18 in width and is not provided with any door or gate; but the entrance is closed by means of a solid slab or plank of wood from 4 to 6 inches thick, and of sufficient dimensions to entirely block up the entrance. This sliding door is inside the hut, and so arranged and fixed on two stout stakes buried in the earth and standing to the height of 2 1/2 to 3 feet, as to be easily moved to and fro. There are no other opening or outlets of any kind either for the escape of smoke or for the free ingress or egress of atmospheric air. The door itself is of such small dimensions, that to effect an entrance, one has to go down on all fours and even then much wriggling is necessary before an entrance can be effected. The houses are neat in appearance, and are built of bamboo closely laid together, fastened with rattan, and covered with thatch, which renders them water-tight. Each building has an end walling before and behind, composed of solid blocks of wood and the sides are covered in by the pent-roofing which slopes down to the ground. The front wall or planking contains the entrance or door-way. The inside of a hut is from 8 to 15 feet square and is sufficiently high in the middle to admit of a tall man moving about with comfort. On one side there is a raised platform or pial formed of clay, about 2 feet high and covered with sambre or buffaloe skins, or sometimes with a mat. This platform is used as a sleeping place. On the opposite side is a fireplace and a slight elevation on which the cooking utensils are placed. In this part of the building faggots of firewood are seen piled up from floor to roof and secured in their place by loops of rattan. Here

also the ricepounder or pestle is fixed. The mortor is formed by a hole dug in the ground 7 to 9 inches deep and rendered hard by constant use. The other household goods consist of 3 or 4 brass dishes or plates, several bamboo measures, and sometimes a hatchet. In one hut I found an old table knife, two empty beer bottles and a broken goglet. Each hut or dwelling is surrounded by an enclosure or wall formed of loose stones piled up 2 to 3 feet high and includes a space or yard measuring 13 by 10 feet."

Tho above description is fairly complete by itself and does not require much by way of supplement. Only the dimensions of the huts given therein would seem to be much larger than what are actually found to be the case now-a-days. It is rare to find at present any hut 18 feet long. It is in such capacious dwellings the Todas live and multiply, and not infrequently you can see a single hut providing accommodation for a whole family consisting of several members,—brothers, sisters, sons, daughters and a brood of children! It is no doubt a matter for wonder how so many persons manage to find room in such a limited area and escape suffocation withal. During the day time, except in foul weather or the monsoon season, the men, women and children do not confine themselves to their huts, but wander about freely in the open air. It is only during the nights the huts are packed to their utmost capacity, and the inmates must necessarily huddle themselves together without regard of age or sex. Originally the raised platforms inside the huts should have been meant for sleeping places; but when the family is fast multiplying and the inmates are growing in number, accomodation grows less and every available inch is turned to account. It is thus the housing question of the Toda is, every day, tending to become a most pressing problem; and elsewhere we point out how this difficulty along with several others of a more serious nature worked its way to seek remedy, for a complex sociological problem, in the relentless expedient of infanticide. Sometimes, even these small dwellings are divided by a solid partition in the middle into two smaller huts with separate openings for each, for the residence of two different families, and the second opening is more generally made in one of the sides of the hut.

It will be useful to consider here whether this peculiar system of house-building is original to the Toda or whether any influences have been at work in developing the system. The only people, who, if at all, could have exercised any kind of influence over the Toda in the matter of house-building are the Kotas and the Badagas. The dwellings of the former are so very unlike those of the Todas and so graceless and unsystematic as not to lead one to entertain even the least suspicion of any manner of influence. Besides, the Todas have always an eye for utility and will not copy or adopt anything alien unless convinced of its comparative superiority. The inferior structures of the Kotas would never have produced any impression upon them. Nor did the Badaga method of construction, which was in every way decidedly superior to the Todas, work any change in their primitive methods of house construction. It must also be remembered that the Todas were the earliest settlers on the hills and as such, had developed their methods long before the arrival of the other tribes. They had, therefore, not much to copy from the latter arrivals who, in their turn, began to make fresh alterations and improvements demanded by the new conditions of soil and climate, on the methods brought with them from their original homes. Excepting the single instance mentioned above,—which must more correctly be ascribed to the recent influence of modern settlers—the example of the Badagas does not seem to have produced any change in the Toda house-construction. It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that each of these three people—the Todas, the Kotas aud the Badagas—brought with them severally from their original homes, wherever those may be, their own peculiar independent systems of house-building which underwent development and modifications in their own lines according as the climate and surroundings of the adopted soil forced them. Thus the Todas would seem, at the beginning, to have brought with them a national system of constructing dwellings or huts, a system in which an ignorance of the art of making bricks or raising a durable wall with the help of natural or artificial stones, a partiality to give a rounded appearance to their dwellings, helplessness to tide over the difficulty of

providing suitable openings such as windows and doors and above all an utter want of artifice to provide themselves with high and roomy abodes, even in a place where there is no lack of space—all these characteristics would stand out most conspicuously and not unreasonably suggest one of their possibly having been once a race of cave-dwellers. Taking them to be of such a race or perhaps a little advanced in the art of providing shelter for themselves, it is easy to trace the further developments in their art soon after their settlement on the Nilgiris. The first and foremost thing that would have drawn their attention would be the severity of the cold. Whether originally they knew anything of the rudiments of the art of house-building or not, the climate of the regions they settled in, as well as the monsoon, would have driven them to the imperative necessity of seeking shelter or providing themselves with some kind of abode. It is again to obviate the difficulty of cold blasts that they seem to have taken care to leave no other opening except a doorway and that too so small as to render exit or entry an extremely uncomfortable operation. Finding their devices answer well their requirements, and the interior always warm and cosy they kept up to their method and the different systems of the subsequent settlers failed to produce any effect upon them. The difficulty the Todas generally experience in repairing or building huts and their commonly indolent nature are also forces to be reckoned with. It is therefore not wrong to hold that the Toda method of constructing dwellings is peculiarly their own and is the natural outcome of the influence of environment upon a simple folk in a low stage of civilisation, who were not advanced even so far as to know the use of metals. That they have not borrowed in the art of house building, anything from other people with whom they came in contact is also sufficiently clear.

The dairy or temple of the village is, in all respects, a building similar to the dwelling huts, composed of the same materials, but perhaps a little larger in dimensions and situated a little removed from them. It usually contains two compartments, separated by a centre planking, the outer one of which is the dwelling place of the *palal* (dairy man) who is also the priest of the temple. The

inner apartment is the real dairy or temple and contains the ghee, milk and curds that are daily produced. These are kept in separate vessels generally made of big bamboo tubes. It is there also the bells, the sacred objects of the Todas are hung up on the side of the hut. There is a halo of sacredness pervading about the dairy in the mind of the Toda. The place itself on which it stands is held to be consecrated ground, and strangers are never permitted to approach it for fear of incurring the displeasure of the deity presiding therein. Females are strictly excluded from it, and the only persons who are free to go near it are the boys and youths of the family. The person of the *palal* is inviolable and he is prohibited from having anything to do with the other Todas or even strangers. Even speech is not permitted to him. The milk pails within the dairy are also sacred articles; but the bells are the most sacred of all, which are attached to the necks of certain chosen buffaloes once a year and worshipped. But as the ceremonies connected with the initiation of the *palal kavalal*, and the worship of the bells will be fully described later on, we have only to speak here of the construction of the dairy. There is no raised platform inside, the ground being level, and a fire place at one end is perhaps required for the dairy operations. There is also an outer protecting wall round the building, and the environs are kept scrupulously clean. Sometimes, one or two plants loaded with sweet-smelling flowers fill the air with fine fragrance and add to the veneration and sacredness of the temple and the locality on which it stands.

Mention has already been made of the stone enclosures or cattlepens situated near the dwelling houses in a mand. These are generally of such dimensions as to hold completely the herd belonging to a hamlet. A hollow is scooped out of the earth somewhat in the form of a large circle and the extremities are lined with loose stones and boulders so as to form a sufficiently high barricade into which the herd is driven in and the entrance blocked by powerful wooden beams. The whole night they are kept within and as soon as it is morning they are let out and taken to graze.

M. JIVARATNAM.

(*To be continued*)

Hail to thee, parent of the mind!
Thou Bani's sacred power, hail!
Whatever in me is refined,
What noble motives fill my sail,
A deathless spring whence bliss doth flow,
Unto thy bounty all I owe.

Thou, moulder of my inner frame!
Wert never thou a structure cold
Of lifeless clay so reared. I claim
Thou art in truth a being souled,
A being of unbounded might,
Destined the darksome maze to light.

Thy turrets high as learning rise,
And chide the changing summer sky;
The bending coward they despise
Stern emblems they of liberty;
Higher and higher they bid me climb
And scorn the world of sin and crime.

Thy mighty spirit lives in thee
And gives thy front its dignity,
That silent lessons taught by thee
Seem solemn mandates of the high,
When thoughts all hushed, the open mind
Reposes to thy power resigned.

When, like the wand'ring summer cloud,—
In learning's vast and pathless vale,
At random I enchanted roved,
And listened to the passing gale
That lisped romances undefined,
Thou wert the pilot of my mind.

The lovely nymph, sweet Poetry
Of thought's bright rainbow born,
Her sprightly face I knew through thee,
Nor ever more have felt forlorn;
She oft did meet me in that vale
And soothe me with her charming tale.

Her dwelling is the golden bower
The gilded clouds of evening make ;
Her voice is in the vernal shower
That bids the drowsy greenwood wake ;
On lightning's wings through storm and rain
She flashes to her fairy reign.

E'er since I knew, her life has been
A journey in the fairy land :
The darkest storms though biting keen,
Have still sung hope at her command,
In wild yet solemn harmony,
Nor howled me into misery.

One other gift I owe to thee,
O blessed nurse of infant soul,
And nor didst thou that gavest me
The fount whence soft delight doth roll,
Forget the Censor's grave control,
Lest honeyed rills should drown my soul.

Still, like the dawn whose golden light
Enlivens the benighted East,
Shine on a world of souls, their night
Dispel and give them heavenly feast,
That they more near to Him may grow
From whom did once their being flow.

"Poetic Child"

WHAT SHALL WE EAT?*

By. C. B. Rama Rao, M. D, Assistant Professor in Madras Medical College.

Foods consist of four Proximate principles: Proteids, Carbohydrates, Fats and Inorganic Salts, and water.

The Fats can be derived either from the animal or the vegetable kingdom, but the Carbohydrates and organic Salts are derivable almost entirely from the vegetable kingdom. This latter fact was brought home to our minds, when sailors, in the early part of the last century, died in large numbers of Scurvy, a disease produced by a want in the system of organic Salts, such as the citrates, the tartrates and the malates, which are derived from fresh vegetables and are necessary to enable the organism to carry on those incessant changes essential to life, and collectively termed metabolism. It is obvious, therefore, that *a man subsisting on vegetable food alone can derive from it all the nourishment he needs*, whereas a man living on flesh foods alone cannot maintain his body for any length of time without resorting to vegetable food.

Is Man a Carnivorous Animal?

From the study of the teeth and the stomach of man, attempts have been made to prove that he was destined to live on mixed food consisting of animal and vegetable substances. But more careful scrutiny shows that the *type* of teeth and organs in man is the same as that of the vegetarian anthropoid apes and monkeys, which in the scale of complexity of structure, come nearest to man.

The Hindu's Definition of "Vegetarianism."

If I were asked to define Vegetarianism, I would say that it is a method of living which deprecates the killing of animals.

We, in India, go even farther. Our remote ancestors were flesh-eaters, but as religion and spirituality developed, they recognised that flesh food was uncongenial and degrading. The upper classes in the North gave up flesh, bnt not fish. Those in the south, who number hundreds of thousands, eschew flesh, fish, and even

* Noes from a lecture delivered at Dublin in June l: st, under the auspices of the Irish Vegetarian Society.

eggs, although they use milk and its products, such as butter, butter-milk, cream &c.

Settling the Question of Cruelty Done to Bulls, Cows and Calves by the Users of Milk.

The moral responsibility felt by the users of milk towards the animal that gives it is shown by the special care aud attention which the cow and the calf receive in the humblest Hindu dwellings. They are cleaned, fed and otherwise looked after better than the pet race-horse in the stable of an aristocrat.

Are Animal Products Necessary for Man?

It is altogether another question whether these by-products are absolutely necessary. Both physiology aud the experience of India prove that they are not. The peasant and the cultivator, though not prohibited by religion from using animal food, yet, as a matter of fact, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, live on vegetarian food almost from year's end to year's end. Firstly, they are not partial to animal food, and, secondly, they cannot afford it, as it is much more costly to buy flesh than to buy flour or grain. These cultivators are too poor to buy milk and butter. It is a luxury reserved for festive occasions. Cheap vegetable oils, such as the Gingili oil and Cocoanut oil, supply them with fat.

The Natural Physiological Balance of Food Elements.

Just as Nature supplies the vital element of oxygen in a dilute condition in the atmosphere, so we find the proteid of food diluted with a varying but large proportion of starch in the numerous cereals or grains.

Does Vegetarian Diet support the Mental Powers?

It cannot be contended that animal food does not make men more intelligent than does a vegetable diet, for the Brahmins of South India, who do not even use eggs, have shown themselves not a poor match for the Europeans.

Cambridge University records that in spite of great religious, social and pecuniary disadvantages, a number of strict vegetarians from India have acquitted themselves creditably, while several have become Senior Wranglers.

I have witnessed a Pandit go through the performance of seven simultaneous mental acts and, there are other and even more startling kinds of mental processes, degrees of concentration and clearness of mental activity which can be shown by scores of Indian scholars who do not know a word of any European language. This is an example of intellect reared on vegetarian fare. I wish I were competent to show you at least a glimpse of the thoughts, reasonings and deductions in the region of philosophy, in which English and German thinkers, like Monier Williams and Sir Edwin Arnold, say Indians excel. Those who are spiritually inclined will find abundant food for reflection and assimilation in the Sacred Books of the East, expounding the Unitarian Philosophy of Sankara, or the Dualism of Kaminga—both of which are vegetarian.

Vegetarian Diet and Physical Powers.

It may be said that Vegetarian food, though sufficient and efficient for intellectual purposes, is not equal to developing the muscle. This doubt where it shall exist, is easily expelled by watching the phenomenal strength of elephants, who can, by their trunks uproot trees which require dozens of men to lift. What animal can lift the weights carried by the grass-eating camel? What carnivorous animal can excel in swiftness or elegance, the lightning-like flashes of the stag? Thinking of men themselves, are not most farmers, at least in India vegetarians? Does not the Brahmin youth in school games and athletic sports often take the first or second place in a crowd of mixed competitors? Has not the Madras U. C. Cricket team, chiefly composed of Hindoos, given a beating several times to the English team in their own national game? I could go on multiplying instances, but the few cited ought to be enough to convince any unprejudiced mind.

Take your staud opposite a butchers shop, and then quickly pass on and contrast the appearance of this and a fruiterer's shop. You cannot escape the gore and filth, the grease and hideousness of the one, nor fail to be attracted by the pleasant flavour, and the delicate and the sweet aroma of the fruits which greet you; and even if you are naturally morose, they send a wave of pleasant and exhilarating sensations which seem intended by Nature to raise and purify our minds.

We next pass to the kitchen. Nay, we need not even enter it. A *joint* is being roasted and the penetrating and sickening odour is enough to give a headache even to a flesh-eater. Contrast this with the smells and sight of a vegetarian kitchen.

Objections Raised Against Vegetarianism.

It is said that in the Arctic Zone vegetable cannot be produced, Surely if men can live there, vegetables can grow there. Man wraps himself in the woollen clothing and has artificial heart at the fireside. Glass houses artificially heated can surely grow green vegetables and grains, and wheat flour &c can be carried there and stored for years. This keeping property of dry grains, without its undergoing putrefaction. is yet an additional proof that Nature intends that we should live on grains.

It is said that a purely vegetarian diet is indigestible. Do all people in India suffer from indigestion, or does dyspepsia bulk more largely in the hospital registers in India than in Europe? It is one of those gratuitous epithets flung carelessly by the uncritical mind.

It may be that some flesh-eaters, adopting a vegetarian diet, may suffer to a slight extent, but the human organism is so constituted that it can adapt itself to any surroundings, otherwise how can you explain the fact that the hundred and odd Indian students who were born and bred in places where the thermometer stands in the shade higher than blood heat throughout the great part of the year, are able to stand the Scottish winter as well as the Scotchmen themselves? The excess of heat can only scorch the surface and darken the skin, but it cannot alter human nature.

Three Dentists for 5,00,000 *Inhabitants* !

In investigating diet, it would be interesting to enquire how it is that the teeth of men here are so often and so widely diseased, while the vegetarian Indians suffer so little from bad teeth. Madras, for instance, with her 500,000 inhabitants supports but three dentists, while here one seems to be necessary for every lane I think the use of animal food is partly the cause of it.

Effect of a Flesh Diet on the Craving for Stimulants.

I must also raise my voice against flesh eating, because a flesh diet tends to create an appetite for liquor which is a poison and not a drink. Water is consequently despised by the flesh-eater, as was shown by the deck-attendant, who replied, when I asked for water' " Gentlemen don't drink water,"

—*The Herald of Health.*

THE VANI VILASA SABHA OF TIRUPAPULIYUR.

The 3rd Anniversary Celebration.

The third anniversary of this useful institution was celebrated with great eclat on 13th Oct. last under the presidency of Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai. Avl. The Hall of Gnaniar Matam was crowded and among them were present Mr. V. Sankariah Naidu, Zemindar, Rao Bahadur M. Arumugam Pillai, Dy. Collector, Rao Bahadur Mariappa Moodaliar, District Registrar, Mr. Abraham Pandithar of Tanjore. Mr. Subroyalu Reddiar. Municipal Chairman, Mr. Ponnusami Mudaliar, English Head Clerk of the Collector's office, and other leading Vakils and citizens. The proceedings were begun by the chanting of Devara Hymns and then the report was read by the Secretary Mr. Kuppusami Chettiar, which disclosed a most satisfactory record of progress. There were 57 meetings held during the year which meant that there was a lecture in every week of the year. The subjects chosen for the lectures were cosmopolitan in their nature, comprising both religious, moral and industrial themes. The Society possesses a library consisting of 415 Volumes and is subscribing for a number of Tamil and English Magazines. The society collected about 215 Rs in the shape of subscriptions and the expenditure was slightly in excess of receipts, which showed in what direction the improvement was necessary. At the anniversary meeting, Mr. Venkatasami Mudaliar, Huzur Sherishtadar of Tinnevelly gave expression to a "few thoughts on English and Tamil" and pleaded strongly for a greater interchange of thoughts between the Pandits of the east and Pandits of the west. Mr. Tillainayagam Mudaliar of Chidambaram, an young and earnest student of Tamil and Tamil philosophy spoke on Bhakti, in a few well chosen sentences. Pandit Ganapathi Sastrigal lectured on 'the existence of God.' The most interesting lecture of the evening was the one given by the Head of the Gnaniar Matam, in which the Society is located, on Dravida Vedam. As the time was limited he could not do full justice to the subject and the lecture so far as it went was replete with considerable learning. The chairman in concluding the proceedings, made a few remarks on each of the subjects discussed at the meeting, and showed by the

incident of the miracle performed by saints Gnanasambantha and Appar at Vedaraniam, how the *D*evaram Hymns etc earned the title of Veda, and how the actual miracle performed by these acharyas in throwing open the door of learning and religion enshrined in the Sanskrit Vedas called மறை (concealed) in Tamil, to the masses at large was a greater one than the mere opening of two tiny gates; and it was by *t*hese they were able to stem the tide of atheistic creeds like those of Buddhism and jainism and drive them out of the country altogether. He congratulated the Society on the good work shown by it, and praised in fitting terms, the Gnaniar, Srila Sri, Siva Shanmuka Meignana Sivachaiya Swamigal, who is the soul of this movement. He appealed to the public also to support the Society with adequate funds to enable it to extend its usefulness to its fullest extent. The Vivekananda Society of Colombo is carrying on a systematic study of Siddhanta Sastras, and the Vani Vilasa Sabha is doing equally good work by means of its public lectures, and we wish the other associations in the Tamil land will emulate them and show greater enthusiasm in their work.

REVIEWS.

The Tamilian Antiquary :

This is the first publication of the Tamilian Archælogical Society founded some years ago and the publication is rather a belated one. We can very well appreciate the regret of the Secretaries but it is to be hoped that they will show greater promptitude in their future publications. It is to be hoped also that they will put some more life into the Society by arranging series of lectures in different parts of the Presidency and by arranging for meetings of the Society itself.

The present number contains interesting series of original articles relating to Tamilian antiquity and literature. Our old friend Pandit D. Savariroyan contributes a paper on the Bharata land or Dravidian India, and Mr. V. J. Tamby Pillai a paper on the Solar and Lunar races of India. The Pandit has added notes on the relations of the Pandavas and the Tamilian kings' and 'on the etymology of the words Chera and Kerala. Students desirous

of acquainting themselves with the existing rather scanty materials relating to Tamilian antiqnity will find them collected in these papers together with the conclusions arrived at by these writers, and we hope other students might be induced to work in the same field which is a thoroughiy new one. Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer of Trevandrum, a noted Tamil Scholar has contributed a translation of ode no 2 from the Purananuru. The Poem refers to ancient Chera King Perum Chotru Udiyan Cheralathan so called for his having fed the contending forces of the Mahabharata War. Mr. Sesha Iyer after pointing out how ancient this poem must be, remarks, that the Tamil poem exhibits an aptness of language and a style, perfect for grace, terseness and suggestiveness that cannot possibly be reproduced in a translation. To appreciate them and to realise the excellence attained by Tamil poetries even in that remote age the reader should go to the original itself.

The number before us is very valuable, and we hope the future numbers would be made as interesting. The publication is wholly in English and is priced 8 as. And it can be had of the Secretaries, Pandit D. Savariroyan M R. A. S. Trichinopoly or Mr. T. Bhaktavatsalam B.A. Purasapakam, Madras

Srikanta's Bashya on the Brahma sutras in Tamil.
By Kasi Vasi S. Senthinatha Iyer of Tiruparankundrum.
Part I Price Rs 2.

It is with great pleasure we welcome this publication. Our readers know that the English Translation of this most important and earliest of the Bhashyas has been published and completed in our pages. And our venerable Pandit has been working hard over this Tamil Translation for a long time and we are glad that it the Tamil Translation has seen the light of the day. This Bashya is of paramount importance to all Saiva Siddhantis, and of the greatest authority. Our Santana Achariyas have all made use of it and a study of it will show at once the antiquity and importance of our Saiva Religion and philosophy. The first part before us contains 184 pages and nearly the whole of it is taken up by an elaborate and learned ntroduction by the Translator. There is a note on the Bashyacharya Sri Nilakanta, and in the upakramanika of the Upanishad

there is an exhaustive collection of upanishad texts on the various topics discussed in the Bashya together with an enquiry into their meaning and interpretation. Then there is another introduction to the Brahma Sutras themselves followed by a summary of the contents of the various Adhyayas, Padas and adikaranas. Then is commenced the translation of the Bashya itself, with extracts from Appayadikshita's Sivarkamani Deepika, and foot notes. We hope the publication will be largely patronized as it deserves to be, to enable the translator to bring out the other parts as soon as possible. Our people owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Venerable Translator for the enormous labour and learning which he has bestowed on this great work.

KUMANA CHARITRAM.

By M. R. Kandasami Kaviroyer of Madura,

Most people are familiar with the story of King Kumana and the popular lines ஆடெரி படர்ந்த கோடுய ரடுப்பில் but few know that the story is to be found in the poems of Purananuru itself, which is not merely a well of Tamil undefiled but is at the same time a store house of ancient classical history. Several of these histories in the Purananuru have come into popular tradition and the present story is one of such; and for the pathetic nature of the story, and the nobility and liberality of King Kumana, and the greatness of the Poet Peruntalai Chattanar, the story is the unsurpassed. The Pura-nanuru contains stories of other Poets such as Kabila who acted as arbiters of contending Kings, but there is greater romance introduced in the story of Kumana than in any other. The present work had the honor of being read at the anniversary of the Madura Tamil Sangam and of having had the approval of the assembled Pandits, under the Presidency of Maha Mahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Iyer. It contains a learned introduction by Mr. S. Saminatha Iyer, Secretary of the Madura Sangam in English, and there is also one in Tamil by Mr. M. S. Subramaniya Kaviroyer of Tinnevelly Hindu College The book is priced at 8 as. and should become popular. It is in Tamil verse and give the whole story of King Kumana as gathered from the existing verses in Purananuru and popular tradition and is embellished with beautiful ideas and thoughts by this gifted poet of Madura, the verses are smooth and flowing and intelligible to the ordinary reader too; and it is poetry like this and Kombi Viruttam that are wanted for popular reading and recreation. And we only wish that more books like this are published from time to time.

India and the Apostle Thomas.*

IT IS NOW NEARLY TWO YEARS SINCE THAT VERY INTERESTING AND valuable production, "*India and the Apostle Thomas,*" by Dr. Medlycott, reached the Indian Press. Most favourable were the notices which appeared then, welcoming this great work. We have however abstained till now from offering any comments on Dr. Medlycott's book, as, claiming as we have always done, to possess in our midst the tomb of this Blessed Apostle, our object naturally was to see first how far the mass of historical and traditional evidence so industriously collected and critically examined by Dr. Medlycott and the conclusions arrived at by the learned author, would be contested or disputed by those who approached the subject with an open mind, or even with prejudice. It is gratifying to note that so far we have not seen any objection raised which can be said to be of sufficient weight to shake the evidence brought forward by Dr. Medlycott in support of the traditional belief that St. Thomas did visit India and preach the Gospel here, and that he was martyred in Southern India and was buried at Mylapore.

The main thing was to collect evidence to establish the connection of the Apostle with *India*, that is India proper as we known it now, and Southern India in particular, since there has been much speculation as to the country the ancient writers referred to as India. Even after the publication of his book, Dr. Medlycott had himself to come forward and answer a "Critic" who raised certain issues as to this point in the columns of the *The Examiner* of Bombay. Dr. Medlycott pointed out that the principle he followed was to take the term "India", when mentioned in the records quoted by him, to refer to India proper, unless clear and sufficient evidence was brought to show that the reference was to

* This critique originally written for and published in *The Catholic Register* of San Thomé, the organ of the Diocese which claims to possess the original tomb of the Apostle Thomas is now re-published, with such modifications as seemed necessary, in the present journal, in the hope that it may lead to further research among Dravidian sources likely to throw more light on this most interesting subject.

some other country to which the writer applied the term for want of better geographical knowledge. Accordingly when evidence of this nature was found in the case of certain alleged Apostles of India, Dr. Medlycott argued that the Apostolic men referred to had not preached the Faith in India. Until, therefore, similar evidence can be produced to show that some other place was meant, the term "India", used in the large mass of documents referred to by Dr. Medlycott in his book in proof of St. Thomas' connection with India, must be taken to refer to India proper.

A little before Dr. Medlycott published his book, the Preface to which is dated May 1905, an article appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April of that year on "St. Thomas and Gondophernes" by J. F. Fleet, I. C. S. (Retd.), PH. D., C. I. E. The writer here summed up the results of an investigation undertaken by Mr. Philipps in the *Indian Antiquary* from Western sources of information, and supplemented Mr. Philipps' work by an examination of an item obtained from Eastern sources in the way of corroboration of the Western tradition.

Mr. Fleet briefly summarised the earlier traditional statements given by Mr. Philipps, such as those of St. Ephraem (A. D. 300–378), Eusebius (Bishop of Cæsarea Palaestinae (A. D. 315–340), the statement made by the Clementine Recognitions (about A. D. 210) and the fuller tradition found in the Acts of St. Thomas, as specially pointing to the fact that a Christian tradition, current in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Asia Minor, and all those parts as far as Italy, and connecting St. Thomas with Parthia and "India", and with two Indian kings, whom it specifically names, is traceable back to, at any rate, the third or fourth century of the Christian era, and perhaps to the second quarter of the third century. As, however, the Christian tradition taken in its details and in its external bearings would seem to require corroboration of some kind or other from external sources, Mr. Fleet pointed out that the required corroboration has been found in coins which from 1834 onwards have been obtained from Beghram in the vicinity of Kabul, from Pathankot in the Gurdaspur district of the Panjab on the North-east of Amritsar, from

Kandahar, and from various places in Sindh and Seistan. But again as these coins are not dated and there was further wanted an epigraphic record which should present a date in some era capable of being recognised as a date of Gondophernes and adaptable to the tradition, it has happened, as Mr. Fleet remarks, that this desideratum was at length supplied by the discovery in, or about, 1857 of what is known as the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, which is now in the Lahore Museum. We need not pursue the investigation undertaken by Mr. Fleet in connection with these coins and the inscription, as Dr. Medlycott himself deals exhaustively with them in the first chapter of his book. Suffice it to note that it is satisfactory to find that so well-known an authority on the ancient history and antiquities of India, as Mr. Fleet, should have also arrived at the conclusion that the evidence so far is strongly suggestive of the fact that there is an actual basis for the tradition in historical reality, and that St. Thomas did proceed to the East, and did visit the courts of two kings reigning there, of whom one was the Guduphara-Gondophernes of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and the coins, who judging from the wide range of the localities from which the coins were obtained, Mr. Fleet remarks, was evidently a powerful ruler of an extensive territory, which included as a part of it, much more of India than simply a portion of the Peshawar district. As to the other Mr. Fleet thinks that the suggestion made by M. Sylvain Levi to take the name Mazdai, mentioned in the Acts of St. Thomas as the King in whose dominions he brought his apostolic labours to a close by receiving the martyrs' crown, as a transformation of a Hindu name, made on Iranian soil and under Mazdean influences, and arrived at through the forms Bazodëo, Bazdëo, Bäzodëo, Bäzdëo, which occur in Greek legends on coins, and to identify the person with the King Vasudeva of Mathura, a successor of Kanishka, as not unreasonable. But he admits that it is not a matter of the same certainty as in the case of King Gondophares, and that it is possible that other conclusions might be formed in respect of the name Mazdai, either by means of Persian history, or legend, or in any other way. In fact Dr. Medlycott puts forward a more reasonable suggestion and we shall refer to it later on.

Thus while admitting that there is an actual basis in historical reality for the tradition regarding St. Thomas' connection with India, Mr. Fleet would, however, limit the tract visited by St. Thomas to Northern India. Now, Mr. Fleet premises his investigation by stating that whereas the Christian tradition represents St. Thomas the Apostle as the Missionary to India and Parthia, by the term "India" we are not necessarily to understand simply the country which we now call India; that as used by ancient writers the term denoted the whole of the South-eastern part of Asia, on the south of the Himalaya Mountains, and on the east of a line running from about the centre of the Hindukush down along or close on the west of the Sulaiman Range to strike the coast of the Arabian Sea on the west of the mouths of the Indus; that it thus included our India, with Burma, Siam, Cochin-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and with also that portion of Afghanistan, which lies between Kabul and Peshawar. And yet with regard to the India which is mentioned in the fuller tradition abstracted by him Mr. Fleet says it might easily have been a territory of which the principal components lay in Afghanistan and Beluchistan and which embraced in our India only the Punjab strictly so called and the western parts of Sindh. It is not surprising therefore to find, with reference to the statements which assert that the place at which St. Thomas was martyred was called Kalamina and that the traditions of the Christians of the Malabar Coast place the scene of the martyrdom at Mylapore, that Mr. Fleet should remark that with these matters we are not here concerned beyond noting the point that there is no evidence at all that the place where St. Thomas was martyred was anywhere in Southern India, that any statement to that effect cannot be traced back beyond the Middle Ages and that all the real indications point in quite another direction.

It is not clear, however, why, if, as Mr. Fleet says, the term 'India' as used by ancient writers included so wide an area as to take in Burma, Siam and other Eastern tracts, he should, in connection with the tradition relating to St. Thomas, wish to limit the term

to the North-western portion of the tract described, to the exclusion of Southern India which local traditions so strongly connect with St. Thomas. We certainly find it difficult to understand Mr. Fleet's bias here, except that it is derived from accepting Mr. Philipps' conclusions.

Mr. Philipps' bias, judging from a perusal of his articles in the *Indian Antiquary* of January and April 1903, would seem to go further, for he limits the tracts visited by St. Thomas only to "an 'India' which included the Indus Valley, but nothing to the East or South of it." Why not? "Because", Mr. Philipps would apparently answer, "there is no evidence". Now, both Mr. Philipps and Mr. Fleet have admitted the historical value of the Acts of St. Thomas, at any rate so far at least as they relate to the movements of the Apostle. On page 6 of the *Indian Antiquary* for January 1903, Mr. Philipps, while summarizing the movements of St. Thomas, quotes the words from the Seventh Act where St. Thomas is said to have preached "throughout all India" and makes the comment that "this might imply a number of years". Is not this a strange suggestion to make? Why should words clearly indicating *place* and *extent* have any reference to or imply *time* or *period*? If then, as Mr. Fleet admits, the term "India" as used by ancient writers, included so wide a tract as we have seen, and the Acts of St. Thomas say that the Apostle preached "*throughout all* India", what further evidence do we want to show that Southern India was very possibly included in his Apostolate, or how can we exclude Southern India in face of this evidence and in spite of the persistent local traditions connecting St. Thomas with it? Besides, in this connection, it is related in the Acts that the General who, having heard of St. Thomas' preaching "throughout all India", came to him in a cart drawn "by cattle", and Dr. Medlycott points out how travelling in a bullock-cart is characteristic of Southern India, whereas if the incident occurred in the North, where Gondophares' Kingdom was situated, the horse would have been introduced on the scene and the General would have been mounted on a steed. Gondophares, for instance, is figured on his coins riding a horse, not seated in a cart drawn by oxen. Further, the fact of Mygdonia using the *palki* or *palanquin*

when going to see the Apostle is also specially peculiar to Southern India. Other incidents which strengthen the local colouring given besides those mentioned are also noticed by Dr. Medlycott. The incidents which do not appear to be peculiar to Southern India mentioned by Mr. Philipps appear to us to be relatively unimportant. In fact, Mr. Philipps himself says that "we cannot lay any particular stress upon them in any direction".

Again, in connection with the name of the King of India by whose orders St. Thomas was martyred, we referred to the fact that Mr. Fleet, while accepting for the present M. Levi's suggestion to take the name Mazdai as a transformation of a Hindu name, made on Iranian soil and under Mazdean influences, and arrived at through the forms Bazodëo, Bazdëo, Bäzodëo, Bäzdëo, which occur in Greek legends or coins, and to identify the person with the King Vasudeva of Mathura, a successor of Kanishka, as not unreasonable, was content in consequence to accept also the conclusion that St. Thomas' labours were probably confined to Northern India. We noted, however, that Mr. Fleet admitted that the suggestion to identify King Mazdai of the Acts with King Vasudeva of Mathura was not a matter of the same certainty as in the case of King Gondophares, and that it was possible that other conclusions might be formed in respect of the name Mazdai, either by means of Persian history, or legend, or in any other way. Dr. Medlycott in his critical examination of the Acts of St. Thomas in the Appendix to the volume under notice does, in fact, suggest what appears to us a very reasonable solution; and we are surprised to find our contemporary, *The Examiner*, of Bombay, in its otherwise excellent review of Dr. Medlycott's work remark, with reference to Mr. Philipps' conclusions, that Mazdai is unmistakably a Parthian or Persian name, and that therefore the king could not have belonged to Southern India, that Dr. Medlycott does not throw much light on the Mazdai question, that he simply rejects the name as not being the King's true name, but a foreign and later invention, and that this may be likely enough and perhaps the only solution. Our contemporary has evidently overlooked the *Appendix* in which Dr. Medlycott specially deals

with the question, and deals with it particularly with reference to M. Sylvain Levi's theory in regard to the name. Dr. Medlycott admits that Mazdai is thoroughly a Persian name, but does not reject it because it cannot be the true form of the King's name, as he contends for a more reasonable derivation of that name than that arrived at by M. Levi. Dr. Medlycott shows how far-fetched M. Levi's attempt to derive the name *Mazdai* (Latin *Misdeus*) from *Vasudeva* is, and suggests that it is more likely derived from *Mahadeva.* He points out that, not only in the North, but also in the South, Indian kings were in the habit of incorporating the epithet of the divinity with their own names, and instances the fact of one of the rulers of the Warangal dynasty bearing the name of *Mahadeva.* A glance at Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India* shows how common it was for the Kings of several of the South Indian dynasties to not only affix but also prefix the term *Deva* to their names, and that the name *Mahadeva* itself occurs also among the rulers of other dynasties of Southern India, such as Orissa, Vijayanagar and the Yadavas of Devagiri. It would appear by no means unreasonable therefore to conclude that the true name of the King who was responsible for the martyrdom of St. Thomas was very probably *Mahadeva,* which would be popularly contracted into *Mahdeo.* "Now" remarks Dr. Medlycott, "if the name Mahadeo be passed through Iranian mouths, it will probably assume the form of 'Masdeo'; owing to similarity of sound with the Iranian name Mazdai, the sibilant would be introduced, and the outcome of Mahadeo or Madeo would be Masdeo, and would appear in Syriac as *Mazdai.*"

Before we follow the general outline of Dr. Medlycott's work, we may note in passing that, of the different forms of the name of the Indian King found in the Acts of St. Thomas, the coins and the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, Mr. Fleet uses the form 'Gondophernes' generally, and cites other forms only when literal quotation is necessary, while Dr. Medlycott prefers to use the form 'Gondophares'. In any case it is not of much moment which form is used.

'The Acts of Thomas,' the oldest record on the subject, form part of a class of writings known as the "Apocryphal Acts of the

Apostles." These writings have of late claimed the attention of several scholars both in England and in Germany. Although the Acts have come down to us with interpolations intended to support the gnostic heresies which prevailed in the early days of Christianity, the discoveries made in recent years have made it possible to test the statements contained in them in the light of actual history. Thus Dr. Medlycott found the ground for a critical handling of the 'Acts of Thomas.' already prepared for him; and an elaborate Appendix to his book has been devoted to a 'critical analysis' of these Acts, the author's purpose being to show that the principal events narrated in them are based upon historical reality. The tradition as gathered from the Acts is that the Apostle Thomas, much against his will and inclination, had to undertake the work of preaching the Gospel to the Indians; and that to induce him to obey the mandate he had received, our Lord appeared to him in person and sold him to Habban, a minister of King Gondophares of the Indians, who had been sent to Syria in search of a competent builder, able to undertake the construction of a palace for his sovereign. Thomas in his company left by sea for India, which was reached after a rapid passage. Both proceeded to the court, where Thomas was presented to the king, and undertook the erection of the building. Several other incidents are narrated regarding the Apostle mixed up with much fabulous matter and it is this that recent research has helped the investigator to sift from reliable history. In the second half of the story Thomas is in the dominions of an Indian King, named in the Syriac text *Mazdai.* It was in this country that he brought his apostolic labours to a close by receiving the martyr's crown.

Dr. Medlycott begins his work by a thorough investigation of the evidence furnished by the coins and the inscription we have already referred to as confirming the first portion of the tradition recited in the Acts connecting the Apostle with King Gondophares. He then proceeds to a close examination of all the avilable records supplied by the East and West. To collect and bring these together naturally involved long and patient research. The testimonies of St. Ephraem and other Syrian writers, of the Liturgical books and Calendars of the Syrian Church, of the

Fathers of the Western Church, of the Calendars, Sacramentaries and Martyrologies of the same Church, and the witness of the Greek and Abyssinian Churches are all laid under contribution and fully discussed. The evidence, much of which is additional to that cited by Mr. Philipps and Mr. Fleet, all go to confirm the truth of the tradition that St. Thomas did suffer martyrdom in *India*, that is India as we know it now; and, as we have already seen, there are no reasonable grounds for excluding Southern India from the scene of St Thomas' labours and matyrdom. It follows then, as remarked by Dr. Medlycott, that his tomb, if at all, ought to be found in India. A long chain of witnesses extending from the sixth century to the landing of the Portuguese on the shores of India is accordingly produced, attesting to the fact that the tomb was really at Mylapore. And yet the fact that the tomb of St. Thomas must naturally be found within the limits of India proper, which in itself, as Dr. Medlycott, remarks, is an historical aphorism, has met with the strongest opposition ever since the Portuguese announced the discovery of his tomb at Mylapore. This opposition, the learned author adds came first and chiefly from quarters which must cause an impartial historian, who patiently investigates the whole history of the case, to consider the same as being rather the outcome of *odium theologicum*, than the result of insufficient historical evidence. A plausible excuse for the general feeling of scepticism created by these writers was, in part, Dr. Medlycott thinks, offered by the want of previous historical knowledge shown by the Portuguese authorities and writers in India who claimed to have discovered the body, or the entire remains of the Apostle, coupled with other uncritical details; and once the opposite view arising at first from the doubt regarding the tomb, was taken up and ruthlessly exploited, it was extended to the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostle within the geographical limits of India itself and a widely extending prejudice was formed. It is only in more recent times, when men, indifferent to that *odium*, or guided by their familiarity with, or their long researches in India, approached the subject, that they came gradually, says Dr. Medlycott, to admit the Apostle's mission to India, and to consider the strong historical claim of Mylapore to be the possible site of his martyrdom and burial as not unfounded.

Accordingly after setting forth the available evidence for the Indian Apostolate, the author brings forward such evidence as uphold for Mylapore the claim to the tomb. St. Gregory, Bishop of Tours in his "*In gloria Martyrum*", a work which he revised in 590, shortly before his death, recording the testimony of one Theodore who visited the tomb in India, writes:—"Thomas the Apostle, according to the narrative of his martyrdom, is stated to have suffered in India. His holy remains (*corpus*), after a long interval of time, were removed to the city of Edessa in Syria and there interred. In that part of India where they first rested stand a monastery and a church of striking dimensions, elaborately adorned and designed. This, Theodore, who had been to the place, narrated to us". Dr. Medlycott points out that the evidence here clearly implies the existence of a narrative or acts of the martyrdom of the Apostle which declares that he suffered martyrdom in India, the existence of the first tomb of the Apostle, a church of large dimensions covering the Indian tomb, a monastery adjacent the monks of which no doubt conducted the services at the shrine, the further knowledge that after the remains of the Apostle had remained buried in India for a long time they were thence removed to Edessa, and finally that they were buried anew at Edessa. As Dr. Medlycott remarks, these facts embrace all and even more than is necessary to establish the fact of the early knowledge of the existence of the Indian tomb of the Apostle. They are confirmed by later evidences, and even in the description of a festival connected with the shrine given by St. Gregory, there are many details of the seasons and customs which are characteristically Indian and fit the local conditions especially of Southern India. The record of the next visit to the tomb in India is found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where King Alfred is reported to have sent in 883 an embassy to Rome and also to St. Thomas in India in fulfilment of a vow made at the time he was besieged by the heathen Danes. Eminent modern writers of English history are quoted as regarding the incident as an ascertained fact of history and not as legend. It is further supported by the early chroniclers, whose works have come down to us. Marco Polo and Friar John of Monte Corvino appear to have both visited the

Tomb about the same time in 1292 or 1293 and their testimonies are brought forward. Although the name of the town is not mentioned by the witnesses referred to, there seems no reason to doubt that the little town, where the body lay, was Mylapore, which alone, in all India, has all along claimed to possess the original tomb of the Apostle. Dr. Medlycott is somewhat in error in stating that Mylapore was subsequently named San Thomè by the Portuguese. Mr. Philipps made the same mistake. This is not the case. It is only the eastern part of Mylapore which includes the shrine that has been named San Thomè; and even now Mylapore is taken to include San Thomè and the Bishop of the Diocese is styled "Bishop of San Thomè de Meliapur."

The further witnesses brought forward are the Blessed Oderic of Pordenone (1324–1325), Bishop John de Marignolli (1349), Nicolo de Conti (1425–1430), Amr', son of Matheu, a Nestorian writer (1340) and certain Nestorian bishops, who writing in (1504) to the *Catholicus* of the East, speak of "the houses of St. Thomas in a city on the sea named Meliapur". This brings the record of the Indian Shrine of the Apostle down to the arrival of the Portuguese in India, and shows that the tradition was by no means invented by them; that it was not only locally believed in, but that it was known and testified to from the sixth century onwards by travellers from the West.

Dr. Medlycott then goes into further historical and traditional evidence regarding the Apostle, attesting to the fact that his remains were at a very early period removed from India to Edessa; that during the life of St. Ephraem there existed a church at that place named after the Apostle, holding the relics, of which St. Ephraem speaks in the hymns quoted in the earlier chapter by Dr. Medlycott; that some years later another and a larger church in the same city was completed in honour of the Apostle described as the 'Great Church,' or the 'Basilica'; and that to this church the relics were removed with great pomp and ceremony. Dr. Medlycott shows how some writers have confused the second removal of the relics with the first, also the new church with the older one, and in consequence have made out that the translation of the

relics from India took place at a latter date; whereas the second church was completed after St. Ephraem's death which occurred in June 373, and the second removal of the relics took place in the year 394. The evidence adduced goes further to show that the relics of St Thomas remained at Edessa until the city was sacked and destroyed by the rising Moslem power, and that some of the surviving Christian inhabitants recovered the relics of the Apostle from the ruins of the church and transferred them for safety to an island off the Coast—that of Chios. The stone, which covered the remains there and bore the name of the Apostle and bust engraved and is now in the Cathedral of Ortona, attests to the genuineness of the relics. From Chios the relics were removed to Ortona in 1258. While at Ortona, the relics underwent another vicissitude. The Turks sacked the town in 1566 and burnt and destroyed the churches, including that of the Apostle, whose shrine was exploded by gunpowder. Although the stone forming the altar slab was burst and that of chalcedony brought from Chios was fractured by the explosion, the sacred bones of the Apostle with the relics of other saints were most providentially preserved intact. The head of the Apostle, which was first missed, was found upon further search crushed under the weight of a portion of the fractured altar stone. It was reverently picked up and the skull was reconstructed so thoroughly that no part was found missing. The sacred relics now repose in a bronze urn placed beneath a marble altar, and the head of the Apostle is placed in a silver bust and is exposed to public veneration on the celebration of the feast. The slab of chalcedony marble, which was brought over from Chios and was fractured by the Turks is also preserved in the church.

In connection with the first removal from India, Dr. Medlycott points out that there were two traditions: one that the relics or bones were removed from India in the Apostolic age, and the other, that the removal took place at a much later period, probably towards the middle of the third century after the date of the war waged against the Persians by the Emperor Alexander. On general grounds Dr. Medlycott is inclined to accept the later date as the more probable of the two, because, as he further explains in the Appendix, it fits in better with surrounding data and with the

re-opening of the trade route to India *via* the Euphrates. Besides by the successful termination of the war, the way would have been paved for such removal. Dr. Medlycott also points out the error into which some writers had fallen of supposing that the whole and entire body and not merely the relics or bones were removed from India to Edessa at that very early date, and of their drawing the consequent inference that the Apostle's body could not have been in India if it were buried at Edessa.

Dr. Medlycott also adduces further evidence upholding the martyrdom of St. Thomas, and effectively disposes of the old fable started by Heracleon and put forward by certain modern writers that St. Thomas did not suffer a martyr's death. The different versions of the martyrdom of the Apostle are also set forth and examined. The narrative, according to the Syriac version of the *Acts of the Apostles*, is that the King, Mazdai, ordered Thomas to be brought up for judgment, and questioned him as to whence he came and who was his master. The King hesitated what sentence he would pass, or rather how he should compass his death without causing popular excitement, "because he was afraid of the great multitude that was there, for many believed in our Lord and even some of the nobles". So Mazdai took him out of town to a distance of about half a mile and delivered him to the guard under a prince with the order, "Go up on this mountain and stab him". On arriving at the spot the Apostle asked to be allowed to pray, and this was granted at the request of Vizam, the King's son, one of the two last converts. Arising from his prayer, Thomas bid the soldiers approach and said, "Fulfil the will of him who sent you". "And the soldiers came and struck him all together, and he fell down and died". The Greek version and the Latin *De Miraculis* generally agree with the Syriac text, but the Latin *Passio* has a different account. In this version the death of the Apostle occurs at a much earlier period, and was occasioned by the king forcing the Apostle to adore the idol in the temple. When at the Apostle's prayer and bidding the idol was destroyed, the priest of the temple, raising a sword transfixed the Apostle, saying, 'I will avenge the insult to my God'. The local version of the martyrdom prevailing on the Coromandel Coast as given by Marco

Polo and Bishop John de Marignolli is that St. Thomas while praying in the wood was accidentally shot by an arrow aimed at a peacock. Dr. Medlycott is inclined to believe that this version was got up by the inhabitants of Mylapore to avert the dishonour that would fall on their town and people did they openly avow to the stranger that the Apostle had been done to death by their forefathers. Yet another version of the story, as related by Linschoten, is that, owing to the miracle performed by St. Thomas of removing a log of wood which fell into the mouth of the haven of the town of Mylapore and blocked the traffic, whereby many conversions were made, the Brahmins became his great enemies and sought to bring about his death, which in the end they accomplished by persuading some of the people to stab him on his back while praying in the Church. The same narrator states that this incident is found painted and set up in many places and churches in India in memory of the event. The old Liturgical Books and martyrologies of the Nestorian, Latin and Greek Churches however all testify to the fact that the Apostle Thomas won a martyr's crown by being pierced by a lance.

Here Dr. Medlycott takes the opportunity of challenging a statement made by Mr. W. R. Philipps in *The Indian Antiquary* of April 1903, that the learned Orientalist Assemani deemed the Indian relics of St. Thomas a Nestorian fabrication. Dr. Medlycott points out that the statement is misleading, since Assemani in the fourth volume of his learned work, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1728, covers ten folio pages with his proofs in defence of the Indian Apostolate of Thomas, which he establishes on the authority of the Fathers in reply to Besnage's cavillings; and further adduces evidence from the Liturgical Books of the Syrian Churches including the Nestorian section, and of Syrian writers, both in proof of his Apostolate as well as of his martyrdom in India. But the *corpus* or bones, as Assemani points out, having been transferred from India to Edessa, and Syrian, Greek and Latin writers having, from the fourth century, written of the body of Thomas as having been removed 'to Edessa of Mesopotamia', what Assemani really denies is that the body was found by the Portuguese in India; and quite rightly, adds Dr. Medlycott, because the Portu-

guese on arriving in India, unaware of the historical data now available regarding the remains of the Apostle, assumed that the tomb at Mylapore yet held the entire remains. An admission made by Mr. Philipps in the paragraph previous to the one containing the statement challenged, appears however to have escaped Dr. Medlycott's notice. Mr. Philipps says that the constant tradition of the Church seems to have been that the body was taken to Edessa, that St. Ephraem, as quoted by him, seems to imply that part of the body had been left in India; and yet Mr. Philipps, in the following paragraph of his article, makes the unqualified statement that Assemani deemed the Indian *relics* of St. Thomas a Nestorian fabrication, whereas as shown above all that Assemani denied was that the body was found by the Portuguese on their arrival in India. Besides this certainly does not imply that he believed that no portion of the remains of the Apostle was left behind in India. As we have seen St. Ephraem implies that part of the body was left behind in India, and as a fact the relics held at the Cathedral of San Thomé consist of the fragment of a rib and of the extreme point of a lance.

Dr. Medlycott then refers to the tradition universally accepted by the St. Thomas Christians of the West Coast, that St. Thomas landed on the Malabar Coast at Kodangular (Cranganore), that seven Churches were established, that the Apostle then passed from Malabar to the Coromandel Coast, where he suffered martyrdom, and that at some subsequent period a violent persecution raged against the Christians on the Coromandel Coast, compelling many of them to take refuge among their brethren on the West Coast, where they settled down. Dr. Medlycott lays special stress on this tradition in support of the claim of Mylapore to hold the tomb of the Apostle. He is thoroughly convinced even quite apart from all the evidence previously adduced that if the claim of Mylapore to be the place of the martyrdom and of the burial of Apostle was not based on undeniable fact, the Christians of Malabar would never have acknowledged their neighbours' claim to hold the tomb of the Apostle, neither would they ever be induced to frequent it by way of pilgrimage. Further had this been a case of fictitious claim put forth to secure public notoriety and importance, they

would, Dr. Medlycott adds, as probably have any way, set up one for themselves and would have certainly ignored the claim of the former.

After quoting St. Francis Xavier in support of the existence of the belief among the Christians of the island of Socotra at the time of his visit that the Apostle landed on the Malabar Coast, and St. John Chrysostom and the *Gospel of the* XII *Apostles*, recently recovered from different Coptic papyrus and other texts and compiled probably not later than in the second century, in support of the tradition that St. Thomas had visited nearly the whole of the inhabited world in the course of his Apostolic career, Dr. Medlycott sums up the traditional record of the Apostle as follows :—

(1) He would have preached through the whole of that tract of country lying south of the Caspian Sea—the 'Mare Hyrcanum' of his days east of the mountain range of Armenia and of the Tigris, down to Karmania in Southern Persia.

(2) It would be during this first Apostolic tour that he came in contact with the north western corner of India at Gondophares' court.

(3) After the demise of the Blessed Virgin Mary, when according to ecclesiastical tradition, the second dispersion of the Apostles took place, St. Thomas would have commenced his second Apostolic tour. Probably from Palestine he travelled into Northern Africa and thence, preaching through Ethiopia, he passed on to Socotra, where he must have stayed some time to establish the faith. Going thence he would have landed on the West Coast of India.

(4) From Malabar the Apostle would find no difficulty in crossing over to the Coromandel Coast.

(5) It would be on the Coromandel Coast that he ended his Apostolic labours, and this is upheld by the joint traditions of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts.

It is indeed interesting to see how the various traditions regarding the Apostle mutually hang together ; and Dr. Medlycott naturally remarks, how unreasonable it is to suppose that traditions

converging from various points mutually self supporting, can be the outcome of legendary imaginings. It is for those, he adds, who contest them to prove that they are inconsistent with any known facts, and consequently baseless. Until then, he rightly contends, they hold the field.

As regards the name *Calamina*, which is mentioned in some of the writings as the place in India where the Apostle Thomas was martyred, there has been much speculation. Dr. Medlycott takes occasion to refer to the article on *The connection of St. Thomas with India* by Mr. Philipps, which appeared in *The Indian Antiquary* of 1903, and which we have already alluded to, because, as he says, vague hints were thrown out and 'speculation' indulged in to the effect that 'Caramana', our modern Karman in southern Persia, might represent Calamina. Mr. Philipps held that 'from a geographical, an ethnical, and indeed as it seems to me, from every point of view', the site of the Apostle's tomb ought to be looked for in that quarter rather than in Southern India. Dr. Medlycott, on the other hand, contends that Calamina never had a geographical existence, that the name does not appear in any of the older writings treating of the Apostle while where it is mentioned, it is added that it is situated in India. India, then, and India proper we should say, considering also the evidence already adduced, is the country where we should look for the tomb of St. Thomas. What place is there in India, asks Dr. Medlycott, other than Mylapore, which has ever set forth a claim to it? Decidedly none: in no other part of India, nor elsewhere, has such a claim been raised—that of Edessa was for a second tomb where the sacred remains rested after removal from India. Why, then, should there be any objection to its being placed in Southern India, and topographically at Mylapore, especially as Mr. Philipps himself admits, 'there is nothing inherently improbable in such a supposition'? As to 'Carmana' or Carmania of old, now Karman, Dr. Medlycott further points out that the Nestorians who had churches, priests and Christians in that part of Persia down to past the middle of the seventh century, must certainly have known if at any time it held the Apostle's tomb; that a claim so much nearer home would not have been overlooked by them; and they certainly would not have

come to India to search for it. Quotations are given from a letter of the Nestorain patriarch, Jesuab, A. D. 650-660, addressed to Simeon, Bishop of Ravardshir, the Metropolitan of Persia at the time, to show how groundless the suggestion put forward by Mr. Philipps is. Dr. Medlycott adds however: "We owe it in fairness to the writer of the paper to add that having received from us a copy of the above passages, he reproduced them by way of rectification in a Note published in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1904, page 31, under the heading *Miscellanea*. This phase of the question may now be considered closed".

Dr. Medlycott himself goes further into the subject. He observes that the name does not appear in any of the older authetic writings treating of the Apostle. It appears first in a group of mostly anonymous writings in Greek, which give a brief summary of the doings, preachings and deaths of the Apostles. From this class of writing the supposed authors, Sophronius, a friend of St. Jerome, Hippolytus, Dorotheus and another are quoted as mentioning *Calamina in India* as the place of St. Thomas's martyrdom. From these writings again the name appears to have been taken up by some Syrian writers, and to have made its way into the later Martyrologies.

Dr. Macleane in his *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Vol.III—*Glossary*, under *Saint Thomas*, says that in the Pascal Chronicle is a fragment of a work by Bishop Dorotheus, born A. D. 254, in which he relates the acts and journeys of the Apostles, and says that the Apostle Thomas, after having preached the Gospel to the Partheans, Medes, Persians, Germanians, an agricultural people of Persia mentioned by Herodotus, Bactrians and Magi, suffered martyrdom at Calamina, a town in India; and that St. Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus, who flourished about A.D. 220, has a memorandum to the same effect; while St. Jerome, A.D. 390, speaks of the mission of St. Thomas to India as a fact universally believed in his time, and mentions Calamina as the town which was the place of his death. Dr. Macleane adds that Calamina is supposed to be Mylapore and that the statements of later European travellers to India indicate the undiminished strength of the traditionary

belief and the existence of a Christian Church and community on the spot keeping it alive. Dr. Macleane elsewhere says that Calamina is the medieval Latin name for Mylapore and suggests that it may be a corruption of Coromandel.

From the foregoing it would seem that *Calamina* is mentioned as early as in writings of the third and fourth centuries; but apparently the same Dorotheus and Hippolytus are quoted by Dr. Medlycott from a class of undated and unauthentic writings, while St. Jerome here is evidently made to do duty for Sophronius, whose short accounts of the Apostles in Greek are appended to St. Jerome's book *De viris illustribus*. Sophronius is referred to by Dr. Medlycott, with the remark that the authenticity of the manuscript discovered by Erasmus, whence these additions have come into Jerome's text, has not only been questioned but openly denied; but that it has lately been re-discovered (in 1896) at Zurich, and is a MS of the thirteenth century; that it is the same from which Erasmus had published the Greek extracts in 1516; that the MS. does not bear the name of Sophronius; that this the first editor, Erasmus, must have by conjecture suggested, as one Sophronius, a friend of the Doctor, had translated into Greek some of his writings. Accordingly, Dr. Medlycott would not place the origin of the word 'Calamina' earlier than the middle of the seventh century, the date of the earliest authentic records that of Jesuab, A. D. 650-660, where Calamina is mentioned. He is inclined to regard the name as fictitious, and ventures on a suggestion as to how it did get connected with the Apostle in the minds of the writers referred to, as the place of his martyrdom in India. Dr. Medlycott thinks that Calamina is probably a compound of the word *kalah,* the name of a port, the existence of which in the vicinity of India is historically beyond a doubt, and *elmina* which in Syriac denotes a port. This may be so; but without regarding the name as fictitious there seems nothing unreasonable in the suggestion that Calamina might not unlikely be a curruption from some other well-known name such as *Coromandel,* or the latter might be a corruption from the former. Neither is it unlikely that both these are corruptions from a still older name. One critic,

The Examiner of Bombay, suggested that possibly Calamina is the name of the "country of the Cholas" in which Mylapore now stands; or, in view of the many names in this district beginning with the syllable *kal* or *cal*, it is possible that Mylapore or the neighbouring city of Madras was then called Calamina, or something easily corruptible by ear and transliteration into Calamina; or it may be a foreign rendering of the "port of the Cholas", or else a curruption of Karaminal or rather we should say Karumanal (black sand). This is the name of a small village on the coast north of Madras, which is habitually pronounced and written *Coromandel* by European residents at Madras, and from which, as Bishop Caldwell suggested in the first edition of his *Dravidian Grammar*, European traders might have taken this familiar name as applying to the Eastern Coast of the Peninsula of India. Bishop Caldwell, however, in his second edition, has given up this suggestion and has accepted that given in *Hobson Jobson* by Col. Yule and Dr. Burnwell, that the name is in fact *Choramandalam*, the Realm of *Chora*, this being the Tamil form of the very ancient title of the Tamil Kings who reigned at Tanjore. The name also occurs in the forms *Cholamandalam* or *Solamandalam* on the great Temple inscription of Tanjore (11th century), and in an inscription of A. D. 1101 at a temple dedicated to Varähaswami near the Seven Pagodas. It was already suggested in the columns of the *Catholic Register* a few years ago that *Calamina* is evidently the Greek rendering of the Dravidian *Cholamandalam*; and it does not seem unreasonable to suppose, as was suggested by *The Examiner*, that *Calamina*, as mentioned by the old writers, was originally meant for the district or coast in which the town (Mailapur), where the Apostle was martyred, is situated. There is also the suggestion that, on account of the erosion of the coast in these parts, a portion of the town of Mylapore now lies submerged under the sea, the San Thomè Cathedral containing the tomb of the Apostle being now right on the coast. Supposing, as *The Examiner* remarks, the town was once called Calamina, or something equivalent to it, it might be possible to account for the loss of this ancient name by the destruction of the place which bore it, and for the growth of a new name on that site which still remains. Judging, however, from all that has been said we think

it more likely that Calamina and Coromandel are both derived from the same source *Choramandala* or *Cholamandalam*, the land of the *Choras* or *Cholas*, and that Calamina referred originally to the tract of country lying along the East Coast, on which Mylapore is situated, although subsequent writers might have taken it for the name of the town itself where St. Thomas was martyred.

As to *Mylapore*, assuming that the writers who mention Calamina had taken the latter to be the name of the town in India where the Apostle died and was buried, Dr Medlycott arrived at the conclusion that they were mistaken as to the name, and has accordingly entered into the further enquiry as to whether there is any mention in ancient Geography of the town Mylapore, where the tomb of the Apostle, from the evidence produced by him, is known to exist. From what we have said above the further investigation seems hardly necessary, since *Calamina* might easily have been meant for the tract of country in which Mylapore is situated. However, to pursue the investigation, Dr. Medlycott tries to identify it with Ptolemy's *Manarpha* or *Maliarpha*. Of the different texts examined by the author the latter form preponderates, and Dr. Medlycott argues that the form *Maliarpha* contains the two essential ingredients of the name Maliapur, which would be the form known or reported to the Greek geographers A Greek desinence, as customary in such cases, has been introduced, so in place of *pur* or *phur* (which may represent a more ancient form of pronunciation) we have the Greek termination *pha*; nor has the sound *r* of the Indian name disappeared, for it has passed to the preceding syllable of the word. He adds that if we take into consideration the inaccurate reproduction of Indian names in Ptolemy's present text, it is almost a surprise that so much of the native sound of the name is yet retained. It must be admitted that the name, Mylapore, is not mentioned by other writers until about the fifteenth century, but the use of the name *Calamina* for the coast or tract of country might account for the non-mention of the town situated therein, until later writers became more precise. The fact, however, that the maps illustrating Ptolemy's geography place *Maliarpha* where the present Mylapore would be shown is much in favour of Dr. Medly-

cott's view. The same identification was suggested previously by D'Anville, the French geographer of the eighteenth century (*Geographie Ancienne Abrêgèe*, Paris, 1788); as also by Paulinus á Sto. Bartholomeo, the Carmelite missionary of the West Coast (*India Orientalis Christiana*, Romae, 1794).

Referring to recent Anglo-Indian authorities we find that Hunter in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* states that the name *Mylapur* is spelt variously—*Mayilàpuram*, or Peacock town; *Malaipuram*, or Mount Town; *Meliapur, Mirapur* (by the Portuguese); and *Meelapor* in the *Tohfatal Majohudin*; that it has been suggested that it is the *Malifattan* of Rashid-ud-din, but that more recent inquirers favour the identification of Negapatam with *Malifattan*. Dr. Macleane in his *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency* gives the derivation of Mylapore from *mayil*, Tamil for peacock, and *pura*, Sanscrit for city, with reference, according to the Brahmins, to the tradition that Parvaty worshipped her husband Shiva in the form of a peacock. According to the local Christian tradition the name would seem to be similarly derived, but with reference to the story ascribing the death of St. Thomas to an arrow aimed at one of the peacocks which were about him while praying in the wood and testifying to the fact that peacocks were plentiful in the locality then.

In an earlier paragraph we pointed out that Dr. Medlycott had fallen into the error of stating that Mylapore was subsequently named San Thomè by the Portuguese and that Mr. Philipps had made the same mistake, while only the eastern part of Mylapore which includes the shrine has been so named. We find with surprise the same mistake occurring in an official publication like Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, from which we have just quoted. Against *Mylapur*, "(*Mailapur* or *Saint Thomé*)" is entered, and lower down it is stated that the shrine, regarded as the tomb of the Apostle, was visited by several travellers in the 13th and 14th centuries, and that it attracted the Portuguese to the spot, and gave the Portuguese name to it. Dr. Macleane in the *Madras Manual* more correctly says that San Thomè forms the extreme north-eastern part of Mylapore and that the natives have no

separate name for it. As we said, even now Mylapore is taken to include San Thomè and the Bishop of the Diocese is styled "Bishop of San Thomè de Meliapur." A still more serious mistake in Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer* occurs under *Saint Thome* against which "(Malaipur, Mylapore)— Suburb of Madras City" is entered, with the additional information: "Known as Little Mount, where according to tradition, St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, was martyred, and on which stands a Roman Catholic Church". How *Little Mount*, which is 6 miles to the S. S. W. of Fort St. George and is in the Sydapet taluk of the Chingleput district, got mixed up with *San Thomè* in the mind of the official who gave Sir William Hunter the information for his *Gazetteer*, is inexplicable.

The closing Chapters of Dr. Medlycott's book are devoted to an examination of the claims put forward from time to time by ancient and modern writers on behalf of certain alleged Apostles of India in opposition to the claim of the Apostle Thomas to be the first who conveyed the light of the Gospel to India. As we remarked at the beginning Dr. Medlycott argues that as there is clear and sufficient evidence, which he produces, to show that the references to India, when made in connection with the alleged apostles of India, were to some other country to which the writers applied the term for want of better geographical knowledge, the apostolic men referred to had not preached the Faith in India. Besides, it is proved that there were already Christians at the places visited by some of them.

To sum up, the weight of evidence and probability would seem plainly to support the following conclusions :—

(1) that St. Thomas did visit and preach the Gospel in *India*, that is India as we know it now;

(2) that, as the Acts of St. Thomas state that the Apostle preached "throughout all India", and as Mr. Fleet says the term "India" as used by ancient writers included the whole of the south-eastern part of Asia on the south of the Himalaya Mountains so as to take in Burma and Siam, Cochin-China, the Malay Peninsula and the Indian Archipelago, there is no reason to exclude

Southern India in the face of this fact and in spite of the persistent local traditions and other evidence connecting St. Thomas with it;

(3) that the Apostle did visit the Courts of two Kings reigning in India, one of whom may be taken for certainty to be *Gondophares*, while the other mentioned in the Acts as *Mazdai* may more reasonably be identified with *Mahadeva*, a name common enough among Kings of the South Indian dynasties, than with *Vasudeva* of Mathura;

(4) that the Apostle was martyred in Southern India and was buried at Mylapore;

(5) that his remains were at a very early period removed from India to Edessa, thence to Chios and finally to Ortona, where they now repose;

(6) that, as appears from St. Ephraem, at the original removal part of the remains were left behind in India, and the relics still preserved in an ancient reliquary in the Cathedral at San Thomé are evidently fragments of what remained in the tomb.

After all we have said we feel we have not done justice to so scholarly and interesting a work as Dr. Medlycott's. A work so full of research deserves to be more widely known, especially in scientific quarters, and yet it was with surprise that we found Dr. Grierson, in his article on "Modern Hinduism and its debt to the Nestorians", in so recent a number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* as that of April last, refer to Mr. Philipps's articles, in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1903, on *The connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India*, as the latest researches on the subject. Probably through some oversight on the part of the publishers Dr. Medlycott's work has not been communicated to the *Royal Asiatic Society*.

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